



# THE KEYNOTER



COLLECTING CAMPAIGN BIOGRAPHIES

JUDSON HARMON • H. L. MENCKEN

FDR 1920 • THE MAINE • GEORGE BUSH

## Managing Editor's Message

This is the last issue of 1987. As you have no doubt noticed, we have had the pleasure of running some major pieces by new contributors this year. We start 1988 with the fervent hope that we will see even more of you writing for us in the year to come.


Steve Ackerman's article on campaign biographies in this issue is only partially illustrated due to a lack of space. In future issues, we will continue the illustrative portion of Steve's article. Ed Bomsey continues to provide outstanding material for Original Sources -- this time a letter written by T.R. during the 1904 campaign. George McAfee has provided several pieces on the 1912 Democratic pre-convention candidates and almost-runs, with more to follow. Dave Frent has provided some outstanding sheet music, and there is much more. Enjoy.

In looking back, this was an exciting year for APIC. We had our first contested elections, and in spite of dire warning, the organization not only survived, but seems to be flourishing. As in the past, new leadership offers innovations and attacks our problems with new vigor. We all wish Geary a very successful term in office -- and he is certainly working hard to make it so.

1988 is a presidential election year, and it is never too soon to remind you that caution is the better part of valor in being a current campaign items collector. Too many times in the past we have seen this month's "rare" item become next month's "no bid" item, because a bagful have become available. There is no faster way to destroy a new collector's enthusiasm for the hobby than to overpay for new items. Do you really believe that in the long run a brand new 1988 item will still be worth \$50 when an attractive item from 1904 is only \$35? Sure, it may seem rare today, but is it going to stand the test of time? There are a very few McGovern and Carter buttons that bring \$50 today, but there seemed to be a lot more \$50 buttons for these candidates in 1973 and 1977 that are under \$10 today. Think it over.

Again, if you are ready to do your part for *The Keynote*, give me a call weekdays toll free at 1-800-336-0156.

Best wishes for 1988.



Robert A. Fratkan  
Managing Editor



All correspondence should be addressed to:

**Managing Editor**

Robert A. Fratkan  
2922 20th Street NW  
Washington DC 20009  
1-800-336-0156 (weekdays)

**Manuscript Editor**

Mark Gelke

**Contributing Editors**

John Pfeifer  
Robert Rouse

**Museum Associates**

Edith Mayo  
Edmund B. Sullivan

**Historian**

U. I. "Chick" Harris

**Contributors**

Stephen Ackerman  
William Alley  
Edward Bomsey  
George McAfee  
Ronald Wade

**Photography**

Bill Arps  
Robert Fratkan  
David Frent  
Ted Hake

**Support Services**

Vi Hayes

APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

©1988, APIC Texas 78234  
Printed in U.S.A. by  
Lebco Graphics

# THE APIC KEYNOTER

Published Triannually

Volume 87, Number 3

Winter 1987

## FEATURES

Judson Harmon for President.....	Page 4
Mencken: The Almost Candidate.....	Page 9
Remember the Maine .....	Page 12
Two Views of 1896 .....	Page 17
FDR in Indiana .....	Page 18
Collecting Campaign Biographies.....	Page 19
The Safety Crusade .....	Page 30
The Campaigns of George Bush .....	Page 32
Teddy Roosevelt and the Quakers .....	Page 35

## DEPARTMENTS:

APIC Sheet Music Project .....	Page 14
APIC News: President's Message .....	Page 34

**Illustrations:** The Editors wish to thank Stephen Ackerman, William Alley, John Bowen, Danny Crews, Ellen Fitch, David Frent, George McAfee, Ed Mitchell, John Pfeifer, Robert Rouse, and Ronald Wade for contributing illustrations for this issue. The editors particularly thank Mike Lane and Neil Grauer for their cartoons on H.L. Mencken, which originally appeared in the Baltimore Sunpapers.

**Covers:** *Front* - Multicolor frontispiece from 1892 campaign biography; *Back* - Sheet music.

## IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Spring Keynoter will contain articles and features on William Howard Taft, Sidney Yates, sheet music, preservation, a letter from Warren G. Harding, unusual items from members' collections, and some surprises.

# Judson Harmon For President

By George McAfee

Although he had been an Attorney General of the United States, Judson Harmon claimed his first significant national attention when President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him a special counsel to investigate charges of illegal rebating by officials of the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. When he had traced rebates of more than a million dollars to the former traffic manager, who was now Secretary of the Navy, Roosevelt decided merely to take action against the corporation, and not his cabinet official. Harmon promptly resigned, saying "Guilt is personal." The publicity even gained him some mention as a presidential possibility in 1904.

Harmon was born 3 February 1846 in Newtown, Hamilton County, Ohio. He graduated from Denison University and Cincinnati Law School. (William Howard Taft and Champ Clark were also Cincinnati Law School graduates.) He was elected Common Pleas Judge and later Judge of the Superior Court. He was in private practice, specializing in railroad law. He became president of the Ohio Bar Association. He was named as the receiver to restore the financial stability of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad and the Pere Marquette Railroad.

He ran for Governor in 1908 against a corrupt Republican regime, epitomized by the sinister Harry M. Daugherty, that had succeeded so long at the polls that it felt it could not be dislodged. He beat Warren G. Harding by 20,000 votes despite William Howard Taft's having carried Ohio by nearly 70,000 over Bryan. He was the only Democrat elected in Ohio in 1908, the legislature being solidly Republican. The result was that very little was accomplished legislatively. But in 1910 he was re-elected by 100,000 votes, again over Warren G. Harding who had campaign help from Teddy Roosevelt. And he carried into office a Democratic state ticket and a Democratic legislature. In 1910 it was generally conceded that Governor Harmon was the logical Democratic presidential nominee for 1912. His long and distinguished public career, his membership in Cleveland's cabinet, and his two successive contests for the governorship had demonstrated his availability and brought him national visibility. And people were getting tired of William Jennings Bryan.

When advised of Harmon's projected big win in the 1910 governor's race, Senator Money of Mississippi said, "Well, if that happens, there isn't much use in holding a Democratic National Convention two years from now. It will only be a formality. Harmon will be our candidate."

However, by January, 1911, Senator Joe Bailey of Texas saw it a little differently: "If Champ Clark makes a better Speaker than Harmon makes a Governor, then he will be nominated." There was yet another potential candidate on the horizon by that time: the new but as yet little-known Governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson. The

hopeful Oscar W. Underwood, Chairman of the House Ways & Means Committee, would appear later, along with a number of favorite sons.

James M. Cox, in an article boosting Harmon's candidacy in 1911, said Harmon was Bryan's strongest opponent in 1908. Actually, Bryan had almost no opposition in 1908. He had been running continuously since Parker's loss in 1904. The popular and progressive Governor of Minnesota, John A. Johnson, provided the most credible opposition, but his early boomlet was quickly crushed in the first primaries. The eastern conservatives backed Judge George Gray of Delaware, but his campaign was largely ignored, as were those of Harmon and Joseph W. Folk. Bryan completely dominated the Denver convention. He dictated the platform and won the nomination on the first ballot.

In the general election of 1908 Harmon campaigned far and wide by Bryan's side, neglecting his own race to help Bryan and the party. Bryan lost as usual, but the party did well, picking up five governorships, including Harmon's, and gaining several House seats.

Harmon opened his 1912 presidential campaign from his home on 8 February 1912. His managers presented him as a progressive candidate, and indeed the record of







progress in Ohio during Harmon's administration was one that would satisfy all but the most exacting radical -- the ratification of the income tax amendment, creation of a public service commission, large increases in corporate taxes, a 1% property tax limit, creation of a non-partisan judiciary, the direct election of U.S. Senators, control of public utilities, competitive bidding by banks for state business, the initiative and referendum for cities, Workingman's Compensation, a shorter work day for working women, a Corrupt Practices Act, and a shorter ballot.



However, Harmon was an old-line Tilden-Cleveland conservative and the progressive record of the Ohio Democratic legislature was little of his doing. He viewed himself as a "constitutional" governor, distinct from the other branches of the government. As he saw it, it was his duty to sit quietly, let the legislature do its work, and approve or veto any measures it placed before him.

His detractors called him, "a lifelong representative of the 'interests,' a man whose election to the presidency would mean the uninterrupted control of government by the propertied classes." "It is probably too much to expect that a man 66 years old, whose whole life has been spent as a corporation attorney and railroad receiver, should find much interest in the real political happenings of the last ten years."

With Harmon lending encouragement, the 1911 General Assembly called a nonpartisan constitutional convention in Columbus. One feature of the proceedings was a series of addresses by distinguished statesmen invited in from outside. Besides Governor Harmon, Hiram Johnson of California, Theodore Roosevelt, President Taft, and William Jennings Bryan all addressed the convention amid national publicity. Harmon, in his speech, opposed a state-wide initiative and referendum.

Bryan knew that Harmon, as a member of Cleveland's cabinet, had not supported his candidacy in 1896. (Neither had Wilson.) Bryan was campaigning on the Populist plank of Free Silver at 16 to 1, while Cleveland, in Champ Clark's words, "was no more a bimetalist than he was a Mohammedan." But Harmon had supported Bryan since then, except for a failure in 1910 to back Bryan's call for an amendment to the constitution to require the popular election of Senators. In the meantime, Harmon had risen to full stature as a presidential figure by his demonstrated executive and administrative abilities. Without some specific act on Harmon's part, Bryan would have found it hard to influence significant sentiment against the distinguished Ohioan. After Harmon's speech to the constitutional convention, however, Bryan could logically oppose him on broad grounds of principle. And he opposed him with a vengeance.

In his own speech in Columbus, Bryan called Harmon "a prince of reactionaries, friend of Wall Street, and anachronism of the Stone Age". His relentless hostility knocked Harmon out of any real chance for the nomination. Nothing could soften his opposition to Harmon, whom he refused to see as a progressive. He wrote, "I think it would be suicidal to nominate Harmon or any one else favored by Wall Street." Indeed, he would if necessary intervene in those states in which Harmon sought delegates, whether under his own banner or Clark's.

Bryan asked Champ Clark to stay out of Nebraska's primary, fearing Clark would split the progressive vote and give the state to Harmon. Clark, though, knew he could carry Nebraska and stayed in. Harmon did come in a respectable third behind Clark and Wilson. Clark had 21,027, Wilson 14,289, and Harmon 12,454. It was his best showing outside of Ohio. In Ohio Harmon had 100,099, to Wilson's 86,116, although the primary gave Wilson 19 out of 42 district delegates.



Wilson backers denounced what they perceived as a Clark, Harmon, and Underwood "Triple Alliance", an agreement for two of them to stay out of certain states and let the strongest one of them take on Wilson head-to-head. There was never any official arrangement, but it was easy for Wilson to believe it existed. The South was left almost entirely to Underwood. The West was Clark territory. The East was supposed to be hot for Harmon.

The supporters of former Missouri governor Joseph W. Folk claimed Clark was a stalking horse for Harmon. And several Missourians who favored Harmon nationally *were* backing Clark against Folk at home. In 1910 Missouri's Democratic League pledged themselves to Folk for President in 1912, Champ Clark for Speaker of the House, and James A. Reed for Senator. When Clark's chances and ambitions bloomed in 1911, a number of party officials, Senator William Stone in particular, whom Folk had opposed for Senator in 1908, switched their allegiance to Clark. After losing a couple of county primaries in February, 1912, Folk withdrew his candidacy.

Cox supported Harmon out of state and personal loyalty. He thought he would have been a good candidate. He had been one of the best governors in the history of the state and his integrity was above question. He wrote, "He is about sixty (*sic*) years old, 6 feet tall. He is athletic; he swims, rows, rides horseback, and golfs. He looks the part." But privately Cox was for Wilson whose intellectual superiority, he felt, was apparent. He liked Harmon, "but Wilson, who was clearly much more in harmony with progressive trends, had caught my imagination".

Harmon's campaign was not issue oriented. It stressed instead his integrity, intellect, and executive ability. Most importantly it claimed that he could win, that he could carry the Northern and Eastern states that the Democrats had to have to take the presidency. This was no minor point in a party that had elected only one president since James Buchanan. The point became moot, though, after Roosevelt bolted and virtually guaranteed that any Democrat could win.

In Ohio Harmon had defeated Wilson in a state-wide



preference primary, though Wilson won in several districts. In addition to district delegates, delegates were selected to attend a state convention in Toledo for electing delegates at large; Harmon won a majority of the delegates to the state convention thus enabling his supporters to pass a resolution applying the unit rule, which bound to Harmon every delegate selected in the congressional districts as well as those selected at large. In Cleveland the district delegates had been elected as Wilson men. Newton D. Baker, the young Mayor of Cleveland, in a logical and eloquent appeal, contended that in neither ethics nor precedent could the will of the state convention be visited upon the delegates from districts where the Democratic voters had plainly expressed their wish. He vowed to take the fight to the national convention in Baltimore.

Harmon stayed in the race despite setbacks in the Nebraska and Maryland primaries and the narrow victory over Wilson in Ohio. Harmon could afford to campaign throughout the preconvention period because he was liberally financed by utilities magnate Thomas Fortune Ryan, who supplied about half his total campaign fund. Ryan also used his checkbook to help Underwood.

On 25 June the National Democratic Convention opened in the sweltering granite armory of Maryland's 5th Regiment. There were 1088 votes in the convention with 726 required for nomination.

Bryan, although not an announced candidate himself, was the recognized force at the convention. Privately lusting for a fourth nomination, he was a delegate, reporter, and self-appointed progressive conscience of the convention. Immediately after the *Amen* of Cardinal Gibbons' opening invocation, he precipitated a bitter floor fight over the temporary chairmanship. He then forced through a resolution opposed to a Wall Street dominated candidate. Bryan, still only 52, was younger than any of the major candidates except Underwood. All the declared candidates dreaded a deadlocked convention in which the delegates in desperation would turn again to Bryan.

Roger Sullivan, Cook County boss and head of the Illinois delegation, was for Harmon first, then Under-



Enlargement of 1" Celluloid Stickpin

wood. However, since Clark had decisively won the preferential primary in Illinois, he was instructed to support Clark, and did until Illinois' votes could virtually assure Wilson's nomination.

The convention committee on rules decreed that the nineteen Wilson delegates from Ohio had to vote for Harmon because the state Democratic convention had thus instructed. The chairman of the rules committee, J. Harry Covington of Maryland, argued that the traditional Democratic usage should not be altered, that the national convention had no right to interfere in the internal party affairs of the states. Wilson's floor manager offered the minority report and sparked an acrimonious debate about Harmon's control of the Ohio delegation. The foremost champion of the abrogation of the unit rule, as he had been in Toledo, was Newton D. Baker. In an impassioned appeal, he insisted that the law of Ohio had taken from the state convention the authority to select delegates to national conventions and had vested it in the people. He had given a sacred pledge to his constituents that he would vote for Wilson; would the convention force him to betray the trust the people had confided in him? After an extended debate, the Wilson forces won their first victory, when the minority report was accepted and the unit rule was abolished (except where mandatory under state law) by a vote of 565½ to 492½, with 36 votes not cast. As a result, Wilson received 10 votes from Ohio on the first ballot.

On the roll call leading to acceptance of the minority report most delegations split their vote. Enough of Clark's people had voted with Baker that they angered the Harmon people without endearing themselves to Wilson people. Harmon backers might well have supported Clark later; they obviously would have preferred him to Wilson.

When the first ballot was finally taken at nearly 7:30 in the morning of 28 June, after an all-night session of nominating speeches, seconding speeches, and the time-honored but time consuming hoopla, the count stood: Clark, 440½; Wilson, 324; Harmon, 148; and Underwood, 117½; with the rest scattered. Ninety of Harmon's votes came from New York.

After Clark got a majority at the convention, his leaders pleaded with Harmon to start throwing his strength to Clark. Harmon's people refused. They were still offended because the Clark forces had permitted some of their votes to support the claim of Newton D. Baker that delegates pledged to Wilson could not be bound by the unit rule. Cox believed that if the Harmon votes from Ohio had been



cast for Clark after he received a majority of the delegates, Clark would have been nominated; but the Harmon managers felt that the Clark strategists, in supporting Baker's plea, thought the time had come to ease Harmon out of the picture. Of course, after Tammany Chief Charles F. Murphy switched all 90 of New York's votes from Harmon to Clark to give Clark the majority on the 10th ballot, Harmon only had 31 votes left to bargain with. However, if they had gone to Clark immediately, or on the 11th ballot, the bandwagon effect might, indeed, have carried Clark to the necessary two-thirds. In any event, Ohio did switch all of its Harmon votes to Clark for three ballots beginning with the 22nd. They switched to Underwood for a ballot, then settled down to a steady 29 votes for Harmon again. He still had 12 votes on the 46th and last ballot before Wilson's victory was made unanimous.

After James M. Cox succeeded him as governor in 1913, Harmon retired to private practice and a Cincinnati Law School professorship. He stayed active in political affairs, however, serving on a commission with other former governors to fund the construction of a governor's mansion and serving as a delegate to the 1920 Democratic convention in San Francisco. He died 22 February 1927.

It is unfair to Judson Harmon to assert that he was not a constructive statesman. However, he was hardly in step with the swift, progressive pace that was then on the





march in America. It was a day when it was popular to be progressive, unpopular to be reactionary. Harmon could have empathized with Maryland delegate Senator John Walter Smith who, when he was accused by the Baltimore Sun of being a reactionary, exasperatedly exclaimed: "Hell, what do they want me to do to qualify as a progressive? I have thrown away the long drawers I have been used to all my life and have taken to wearing these little short running pants. What more can a man do?"★

(REMEMBERING THE MAINE, continued from page 13)

There have been many who were skeptical of the findings of the board of inquiry, and three quarters of a century after the sinking, the events leading to the destruction of the Maine were to come under scrutiny again. In 1976, Admiral Hyman Rickover and a group of experts studied all of the testimony of the Sampson board as well as the photographs and information collected when the Maine was refloated in 1912. Rickover's conclusions, published in the *USNI Proceedings*, was that the evidence indicated that the Maine was destroyed when a coal fire in one of the bunkers detonated one of the ship's magazines.

What did the members of the official board of inquiry believe? Did they genuinely support their findings? Were they protecting their own? Or were they caught up in the war fever that was spreading across the country, and looking for an excuse to embarrass Spain? These questions are not likely to ever be answered, and it is this mystery that will keep the memory of the Maine from completely fading away.★

**Editor's note:** In 1979, the last living crew member of the Maine stated in an interview that a boiler had exploded in the main engine room. He was a stoker and had seen the circumstances leading up to the pressure buildup that caused the explosion. See also illustrations accompanying the article on Admiral Dewey in the Mid-Year 1986 Keynote, Vol. 86, No. 2.

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT IN INDIANA • 1920 (Continued from page 18)

K. Lane, former Secretary of Interior. The crowd laughed and Roosevelt responded to the introduction by thanking him for the compliment and paid a tribute to the Secretary's many years of service to his country.

Roosevelt's address focused on the League of Nations and the Democratic view that American participation was essential if such a world organization was to have any chance of success. Referring to Senator Harding's front-porch speech to a visiting Indiana delegation in which he proposed to utilize the good in the League of Nations, and use the Hague Tribunal as a framework to form a world court, Roosevelt wryly observed:

"I suppose Mr. Harding proposes for the United States to take some steps to get the other twenty-nine allied Nations of the World now in the League to take up some new thing, not clearly defined and with the idea that some day future wars will be prevented by such action."

"This is the issue now, shall the Treaty be signed and the League be supported by us or will we oppose it no matter how dire the consequences?" The issue is clearly

## Carry A. Nation!



WILL SPEAK AT

**Winston Opera House**  
**Thursday, Aug. 9**

AT

3:30 p. m. Admission Free

ALSO

8:30 p. m. Admission 10 & 15c

Everybody invited to come out to these meetings

Temperance Poster

defined and therefore I say that the crisis is the greatest and most far reaching of our time and this election is vital to World peace. Can we be false to our ideas of duty and honor and expect to prosper? It is only righteousness that exalteth a nation. Men get what they give in the long run."

Roosevelt predicted that the Democratic Party would carry all the West including Indiana and added an ominous warning. If America fails to join the League, world crisis was inevitable and that our failure could plunge the world back into chaos.

It is ironic that while his prediction of a Democratic victory in 1920 was in error, Roosevelt's fears of renewed conflict unchecked by a League of Nations without any real power became a reality in less than twenty years.

None in the audience on that tranquil summer evening could have imagined how chillingly close to the truth was his prediction of world-wide insanity, or imagined the dramatic role that the handsome young politician from Hyde Park was to play in their lives and in those of generations to come.★



# 1912's Almost Candidate H. L. Mencken for Vice President

By George McAfee

"In the now forgotten year of 1912, I was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Vice-President of the United States." So wrote H. L. Mencken in *A Dip into Statecraft* in his memoir "Heathen Days." Mencken exaggerated a little. He was never actually a candidate, although he almost was. He could be considered a 1912 Democratic vice-presidential hopeful.

Mencken at the time was a columnist for the Baltimore *Evening Sun*. The editor was Charles H. Grasty, who Mencken allows was a "sly and contriving fellow." Grasty's *bete noir* was Baltimore's mayor, James H. Preston. Grasty castigated Preston at every opportunity, and Preston replied in kind. Mencken wrote that in the *Sunpapers* Preston's "doings at City Hall were gradually assimilated to those of Tweed in New York, the *ancien regiem* in France, and the carpetbaggers of the South." Mencken felt "bound by the journalistic code of the day to deal him a lick" whenever he could, and this he did every day.

Mencken continued, "If Preston, as mayor, proposed to enlarge the town dog-pound, Grasty denounced it in both morning and evening *Sunpapers* as an assault upon the solvency of Baltimore, the comity of nations, and the Ten Commandments, and if Grasty argued in the *Sunpapers* that the town alleys ought to be cleaned oftener Preston went about the ward clubs warning his heelers that the proposal was only the opening wedge for anarchy, atheism and cannibalism."

In the 1912 Democratic presidential contest, Grasty was an early and ardent backer of progressive New Jersey Governor Woodrow Wilson, while Preston, a power in the conservative Maryland Democratic organization was in the camp of front-runner Champ Clark, speaker of the House of Representatives. Grasty had nothing against Clark personally; his family and the Clarks were friends back in Missouri. His father, a Presbyterian minister in Kansas City, had married the Clarks. But the *Sunpapers* and Grasty were committed to doing everything in their power to make Wilson president. Grasty had conceived and put into motion a patient, long-term plan to build gradual support for Wilson, support that would peak during the balloting for the nomination.

Preston had a large part in the Democratic party's choice of Baltimore as their convention city in 1912. He not only made eloquent representations about the traditional delights of the town, especially in the way of food and drink, he also agreed to raise a fund of \$100,000 to pay the costs of the show, and made a big contribution to it himself.

Despite the *Sunpapers* constant criticism, or perhaps because of it, Preston was well-liked. Mencken wrote, "This popularity had a powerful effect on the man himself, for he was not without the vanity that afflicts the rest of us. He began to see himself as a great tribune of the people... More, he began to wonder if the job of mayor of

Baltimore was really large enough for his talents." He let it be known that he would be willing to take on greater responsibility, that he would accept the nomination for Vice President of the United States.

It soon appeared that Preston had an understanding with Champ Clark. Clark had won the Maryland preferential primary and had already rounded up more delegates to the coming convention than anybody else, maybe even a majority, but he needed more, for the Democrats' two-thirds rule still prevailed. Mencken explained, "Why couldn't the Baltimore gallery, packed and fomented by Preston, panic enough waverers to give Clark the nomination. It seemed an enlightened trade... If Preston delivered the goods and Clark became the standard-bearer, Preston would have second place."

"It was at this point that Grasty conceived his hellish plot", Mencken wrote. "Under the presidential primary law then on the books in Maryland every candidate who itched for the votes of the state's delegates had to file his name before the first Monday in May preceding the convention, and with it deposit \$270 in cash money." The same rule applied to candidates for the Vice Presidency. "If no candidate submitted to it, the state convention was free to instruct the delegates to the national convention to vote for anyone it fancied, but if there were two who had paid up it had to make its choice between them, and if there was but one it had to instruct the delegates to vote for him. The agents of Wilson, Clark and all the other contenders for first place on the ticket had entered their appearances and paid their fees, but no candidate for the vice-presidency had been heard from. Preston, of course, knew the law, but he was a thrifty fellow and saw no reason why he should waste \$270, for he figured with perfect plausibility that he would be the only aspirant for second place before the state convention."





"Grasty's sinister mind grasped this point [and] I sat enchanted while he unfolded his plan. It was to wait until the very last minute for filing names of vice-presidential candidates, then rush an agent to Annapolis, properly equipped with \$270 in cash, to file *mine*. 'Go back to your office,' he instructed me, 'and write a letter of acceptance. Say in it that you are sacrificing yourself to save the country from the menace of Preston. Lay it on with a shovel... The joke will wreck Preston, and the shock may even kill him. If he actually shoots himself I'll tone down your statement a bit... Imagine the scene when the state convention is forced to instruct delegates to the national convention to vote for you! Here is the law: read it and laugh. The delegates to the national convention will have to vote for you *as a unit* until 'in their conscientious judgment' you are out of the running. That may not come until days and even weeks after the convention starts. All the Wilson men will throw votes to you to annoy Clark. Now get busy with your letter of acceptance before I laugh myself to death.'"

But, Grasty had been so taken by the ingenuity and villainy of his scheme that he couldn't resist revealing it — in strict confidence, of course — to a crony over drinks at the Maryland Club. The friend "was normally a very reliable man... but this time he was so overcome by the gorgeousness of the secret that he took a drop too much, and so blabbed. This blabbing was done in the sanctity of the club, but Preston had his spies even there. Thus when Grasty's agent appeared at the office of the Secretary of State at Annapolis, at the very last minute for filing names, with \$270 in greenbacks held tightly in his fist, it was only to find that Preston's agent had got there two minutes before him, and was engaged with snickers and grimaces in counting out the same sum." Mencken missed his "purple moment, and maybe even immortality." His chance at a political footnote in history had passed.

When the convention opened Preston did his best to pack the galleries with Clark boomers, but the Wilson people were on to his plan and were largely able to thwart it. Besides, Wilson was the genuine crowd favorite and had the additional advantage of being the underdog who was about to be done in by Tammany Hall and the bosses. "We Want Wilson" was heard over everything else from the gallery.

*The Sun*, as part of its long-term plan, left a free copy outside the hotel door of every delegate every morning, complete with pro-Wilson editorials and news stories.

When the battle for the Presidential nomination was ended on the 46th ballot, Maryland placed Mayor Preston's name in nomination for the vice-presidency.

The mayor's friend Alonzo Miles nominated him, describing him as "commanding in appearance and strong in intellect... [and] when he sets his face toward what he conceives to be his duty, Prince, Potentate, nor Power — a hostile press [a swipe at the *Sunpapers*] nor selfish political critics — can turn his head in the other direction." But as Grasty's *Evening Sun* reported with relish, Preston's "vice presidential boom came to grief amid a storm of jeers and laughter," despite the fact that Preston had been the convention's host for a week. Mr. Miles was a little woozy from drink when his moment came, and when "the catcalls got so loud that he had to desist... he filled in the intervals by grasping the rail of the speakers pulpit and making sweeping, dumb-show gestures." Miles was utterly humiliated. So was Preston, although he was not in the armory at the time. Grasty had had the last word. Mencken had his chuckle, too.

Preston got 58 votes on the first ballot. He got all 16 of Maryland's votes and Missouri, in payment for his Clark support, gave him 26 of its 36. There were a few scattered votes in appreciation for his role as host to the convention. He and most of the other minor candidates dropped out before the second ballot after which the nomination was made unanimous for Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana.

Nine candidates received votes on the first ballot. Champ Clark could have had the nomination by acclamation if he had wanted it. Wilson's personal choices were Alabama Congressman Oscar W. Underwood, who also turned it down, and Governor John Burke of North Dakota. He thought Marshall was "a small minded man", and never appreciated Marshall's genuine wit, exemplified by his gift to Wilson of a book inscribed "from your only Vice". However, Wilson managers had promised the vice-presidential nomination to Marshall in exchange for his 30 Indiana votes. So Marshall it was.

There are two buttons known boosting Preston's vice-presidential aspirations. (See illustrations.) They may be the only Democratic vice-presidential hopeful items for 1912. The major vice-presidential candidates, Marshall and Burke, were favorite son candidates for the presidency. Clark and Underwood were major presidential candidates. If buttons exist for the others who were placed in nomination at Baltimore, Senator George Chamberlain of Oregon, Elmore Hurst of Illinois, and Judge Martin J. Wade of Iowa (who withdrew in favor of Burke), they haven't turned up. There is a vice-presidential button for James Hamilton Lewis, whom the 1965 APIC Research Project listed as a 1912 presidential hopeful, but it is probably from a later year. There is a Bryan-Sulzer button that could conceivably be a vice-presidential hopeful button for 1912; Sulzer received 3 votes on the first ballot. Sadly, there is no Mencken for Vice President button known.

---

Henry Louis Mencken, 1880-1956, editor, author, critic and humorist with an invective style; the "Sage of Baltimore" and skewerer of the "bookoisie of the hinterland;" columnist for the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, literary

critic for *The Smart Set*, co-founder and editor of *American Mercury*, and author of "The American Language" and several other books. Political aficionados who have missed Mencken's biting humor may get a taste from the extensive quotes above. He is hard to take in large doses and can never be taken seriously, but those who would like to delve a little deeper might start with "H. L. Mencken on Politics — A Carnival of Buncombe" edited by Malcolm Moos (an Eisenhower speech writer), Vintage Books, New York, 1960; and "The Vintage Mencken" gathered by Alistair Cooke, Vintage Books, New York, 1955. They will find such descriptive gems as that of Wilson as "a pedagogue gone *mashugga*" whose speeches, filled with "vaporous and preposterous phrases", had been "gravely received, for weary years, by a whole race of men, some of them intelligent"; and of Bryan as a "charlatan, a mountebank, a zany without sense or dignity" whose "roaring voice...had the trick of inflaming half-wits" and raising them against their betters. (This in an obituary.) And of "Roosevelt Minor" whose concept of government was that of "a milk cow with 125,000,000 teats." Finally, of the speeches of Warren G. Harding as "the worst English that I have ever encountered. It reminds me of a string of wet sponges; it reminds me of tattered washing on the line; it reminds me of stale bean-soup, of college yells, of dogs barking idiotically through sleepless nights. It is so bad that a sort of grandeur creeps into it. It darts itself out of the dark abyss (I was about to



write abscess!) of pish, and crawls up the topmost pinnacle of posh. It is rumble and bumble. It is flap and doodle. It is balder and dash. But I grow lyrical." ★

## THE CAMPAIGN OF 1880

**DO YOU WANT TO MAKE MONEY?**  
IF SO, WORK  
**THE AGENT'S BONANZA,**  
AND SELL THE LIFE OF  
**GENERAL W. S. HANCOCK**  
By COL. JOHN W. FORNEY,  
Historian of the Army and Publisher of the Philadelphia Press

When Wide Acquaintance with the Public and the Civil and Military Affairs of the Country Together with the Official Position Formerly held at Washington, have Given Him Access to the Great Facts

Upon which all Biography of Permanent Value must be Founded while his Intimate Acquaintance with and Attention for GEN. W. S. HANCOCK enable him to present in glowing Colors the Great Deeds of

**THE SUPREME SOLDIER.**  
All who protect the Republic of the United States in the Battle of the Wilderness, and all who defend the United Country.

As an Agent in the United States a Gentle Persuasive Course of

Will be Printed and Bound in Stitches ten Shells and will be sold for the LOW PRICE of

**\$2.00 PER COPY.**

**AGENTS WANTED EVERYWHERE.**  
Liberal Commissions Will Be Given  
And Large Sales Can Be Made.

**J. C. McCURDY & CO.,** Publishers of Standard Books.  
Philadelphia, Pa.; Cincinnati, O.; Chicago, Ill.; St. Louis, Mo.



Advertising Poster For Campaign Biography

China Plates



# REMEMBERING THE MAINE

By William Alley

It was not too many years ago that the cry "Remember the Maine" would still evoke an emotional response from many Americans. The passage of time, however, and this country's coming of age in this century of two world wars, has caused many older memories to fade.

Americans had reason to be proud when, in September of 1895, the battleship (second class) Maine was commissioned into the United States Navy. Originally authorized as an armored cruiser under the provisions of the Naval Appropriations Act of 1886, the Maine was one of the first two truly modern American naval vessels and the first built from a completely American design. It took three years to produce the steel required for the Maine and Texas, and nine years of construction at the New York Navy Yard. Americans saw the Maine as the beginning of a new navy that would rival the fleets of any other nation in the world.

The year 1895 also saw the beginning of the end of Spain's Caribbean empire when unrest broke out anew over her misrule in Cuba. Tensions between the United States and Spain steadily increased. When rioting erupted in the Cuban capital of Havana in 1897, the American Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee, requested the presence of a U.S. warship to both show the flag and to protect American interests in Havana, should the need arise. In December, the U.S.S. Maine, under the command of Captain Charles Dwight Sigsbee, was sent to Key West, Florida, to await further orders. Those orders were not long in arriving, and about 11 AM on January 25, 1898, the Maine steamed into Havana harbor on a peaceful courtesy visit. A Spanish warship reciprocated the courtesy with a visit to New York.

The presence of a U.S. battleship at Havana was not a welcome sight to the Spanish, but strict protocol was followed and the ensuing exchange of visits between the American officers and Spanish officials was uneventful.

Liberty for the crew, however, was denied and a security watch was set, including the presence of one of the ship's steam launches patrolling the perimeter of the Maine's anchorage.

For three weeks the Maine had ridden quietly at anchor, when, at 9:40 on the evening of February 15, two explosions rocked the harbor and the city of Havana. When the smoke cleared, all that could be seen of the battleship was the twisted remnants of the masts and superstructure. The Maine, along with 266 members of her crew, sank to the harbor floor.

In his initial report to the Navy Department, Captain Sigsbee urged restraint until the facts of the disaster were determined, but such entreaties fell on deaf ears among the nation's newspapers. Speculation as to the causes was rampant on the front pages, all of them hinting at Spanish perfidy.

On board the U.S. lighthouse tender Mangrove in Havana harbor, the official Board of Inquiry, chaired by Admiral William T. Sampson, was convened. The newspapers were not content to await the findings of the Board, however, and before the Board even met, readers were told of the Maine's destruction by a submarine mine. William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* even ran an artist's sketch of just how such a device was planted and detonated.

The Board of Inquiry took testimony from witnesses and survivors and set down divers to examine the wreck. They examined theories that the explosion might have been from external as well as internal causes, but the possibility that a spontaneous coal fire might have been the cause was rejected by the board. On May 11, President McKinley reported the board's findings to Congress:

"The Naval Court of Inquiry, which, it is needless to say, commands the unqualified confidence of the



"Uncle Sam" Milkglass Candy Dish



Enlargement of 3/4" Button





THE U. S. BATTLESHIP MAINE AT HAVANA, FEB. 14, 1898

### The Maine in Havana Harbor — Before



THE MAINE AS SHE APPEARED THE DAY AFTER THE EXPLOSION

### The Maine The Day After The Explosion

government, was unanimous in its conclusion that the destruction of the Maine was caused by an external explosion, that of a submarine mine. It did not assume to place responsibility. That remains to be fixed."

The fact that some of the Maine's coal had sat in her bunkers for up to three months and that several U.S. ships had reported spontaneous combustion fires in their bunkers was not considered. According to the board, examination of the hull by divers revealed a condition that, in the opinion of the board, "could have been produced only by the explosion of a mine situated under the bottom of the ship at about frame 18 and somewhat on the port side of the ship."

Events had begun to take on a momentum of their own, however, and in spite of the failure of the Board of Inquiry to determine blame and McKinley's continued attempts to ease tensions peacefully, Spain, prosecuted by the American press, was found guilty in the court of public opinion of the destruction of the Maine. It would not be long before America found herself engaged in her "splendid little war".

Throughout the war and the years that followed, the

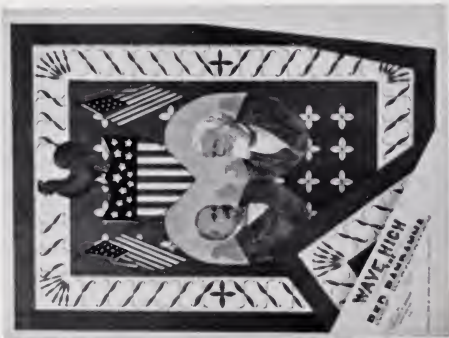
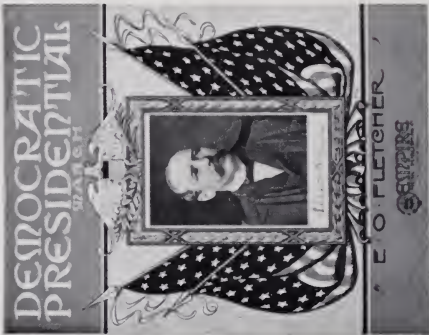
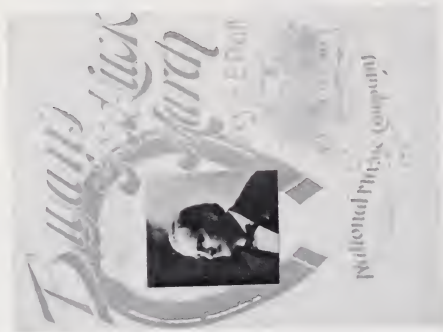
remains of the Maine, along with those still entombed inside, sat on the harbor floor until Congress, in 1911, appropriated the funds necessary for the Army Corps of Engineers to attempt to raise the ship. The wreck was surrounded by a huge cofferdam which was then pumped dry, exposing the vessel for the first time in thirteen years. Work then began on making the hull watertight. The remains of the crew that were found were sent to Arlington National Cemetery. Their graves are marked by the Maine's mast.

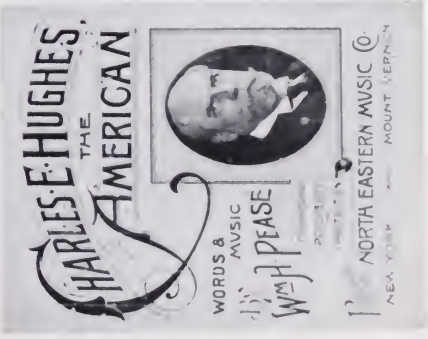
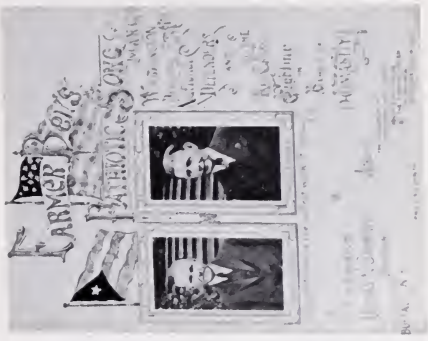
An investigation of the wreck was carried out and the conclusions of the official Board of Inquiry were upheld, with the exception of the location of the initial explosion. Officially the Maine was still considered the victim of a submerged mine.

On February 13, 1912, two days short of the fourteenth anniversary of its destruction, the battleship Maine was refloated and preparations made for "burial at sea". On March 16, decked out with flowers and a large American flag, the U.S.S. Maine, with an escort of ships, left Havana for a final resting place some four miles outside the harbor. The seacocks were opened and the once proud ship settled to the bottom, its ensign still flying.

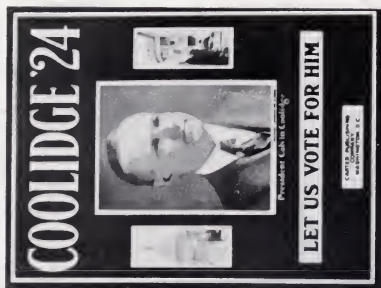
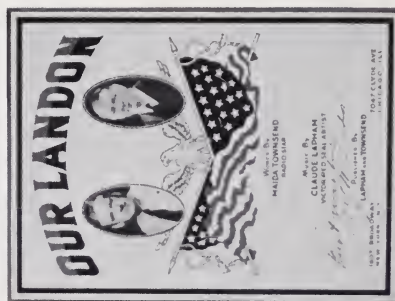
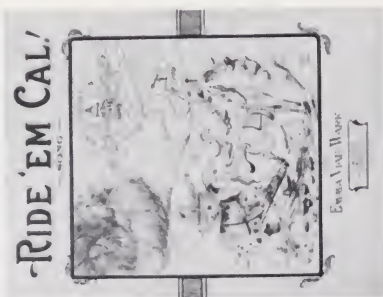
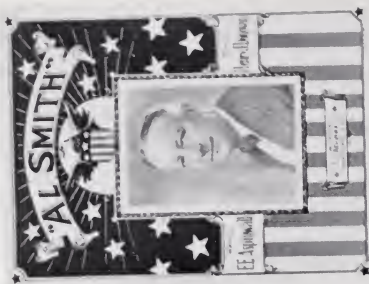
(Continued on page 8)

APIC SHEET MUSIC PROJECT



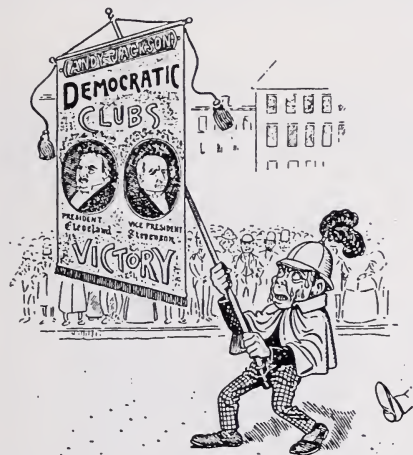








## TWO VIEWS OF 1896

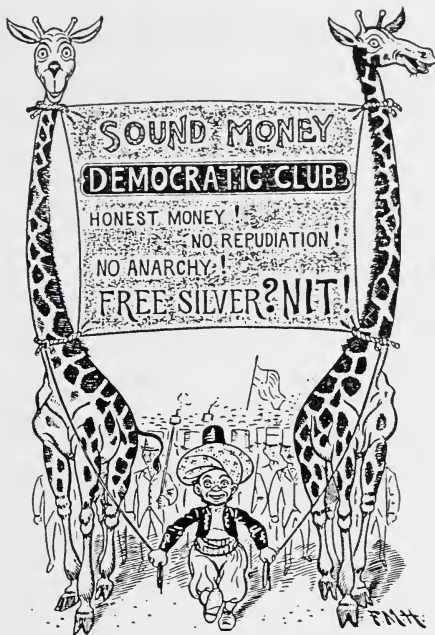


COPYRIGHT, 1894, BY KEEPLER & SCHWARZBAUM

### A CAMPAIGN SUGGESTION.

I.

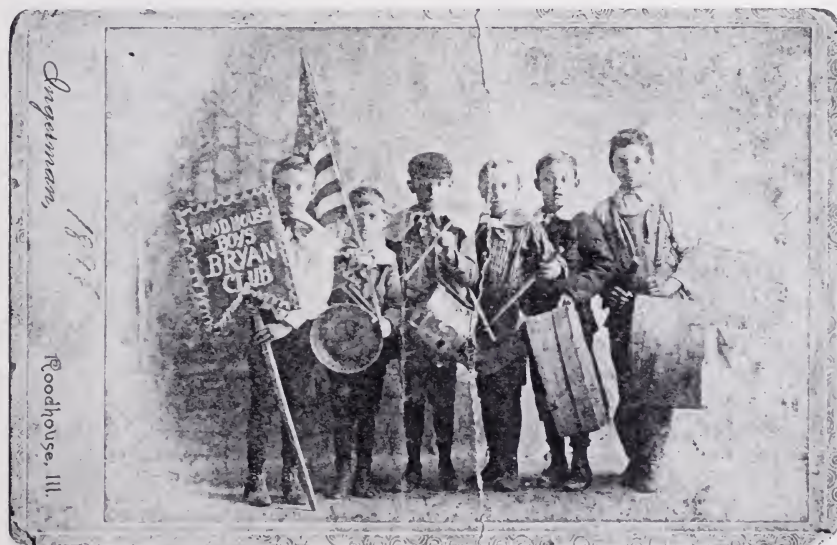
The old method of making a man carry one of these large, heavy banners was little short of inhuman.



II.

Puck suggests the above plan, which is not only humane, but has the advantage of novelty.

Pro-McKinley Puck Magazine Jibes The Democrats



Roodhouse, Illinois Bryan Supporters

# KEEP FAITH WITH OUR SONS

## FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT IN INDIANA • AUGUST 30, 1920

By John Pfeifer

While endless opportunities abound for the discovery of political artifacts that might shed new light on old ideas or even alter commonly held beliefs, seldom does the collector or material culture professional have the good fortune to bring to light an artifact that bridges a gap and serves as a missing link in the chain of events that make up a great man's life.

For years collectors of political textiles have mused over the possibility that some physical evidence remained on silk or linen to chronicle F.D.R.'s nineteen day western campaign tour of 1920. Virtually nothing is known to exist specific to his run for the Vice-Presidency except a single 1 1/4" cello and a few pieces of political paper. No shred of silk or tattered banner had ever been discovered linking Roosevelt to the campaign tour and his first run for national office until this rare if not unique, blue and white silk ribbon was nudged from its hiding place. It had rested undisturbed for many years in the collection of Theodore Roosevelt specialist Fritz Gordner of Indianapolis. He remembered the old-timer who owned it and how he had insisted that it had been worn at a rally in Indianapolis and so it had been; surviving the ravages of time and outlasting even the memory of an event early in the political career of one of America's greatest presidents.

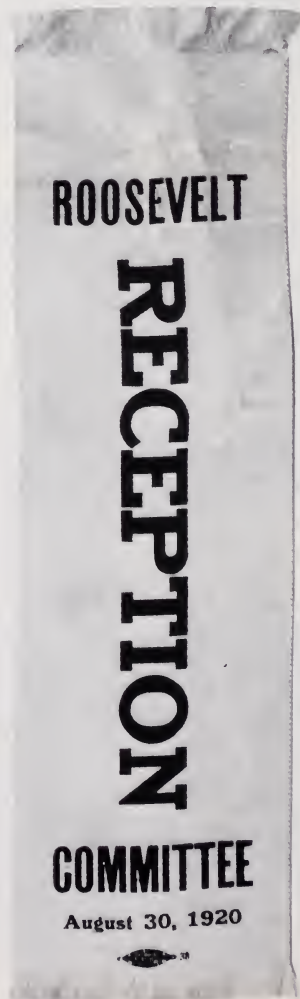
Declaring that the contest being waged between today's progressive and old reactionary ideas was one of the biggest issues before the people, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democratic nominee for the office of Vice-President, formally opened his Indiana campaign before a large crowd assembled at his first stop in Monticello. After a short address devoted to the importance of American participation in the League of Nations, his train headed for the state Capitol, making one brief stop in Delphi along the route.

Arriving in Indianapolis Roosevelt was met by Democratic candidate for Governor, Dr. Carlton B. McCulloch, state chairman Ben Bosse, and party leaders Evans Woolen and Walter Myers. He was escorted directly to the Indiana Democratic Club where an early evening reception was held. Unfortunately the dearth of a written record and the passage of time have obscured the events of the evening, but the ribbon, proudly worn and carefully preserved, stands as silent testimony to the day that Franklin D. Roosevelt introduced himself to the Hoosier State.

Uninformed marchers escorted the candidate to Tomlinson Hall, where a capacity crowd had gathered to get their first look at the Boy Wonder from New York. Hardly being a household name in the Midwest at this juncture in

his political career apparently caused Committee Chairman John Holliday to forget the guest speaker's name and he introduced him as the Honorable Franklin

*(Continued on page 8)*



# “LIVES AND SERVICES...”

## COLLECTING CAMPAIGN BIOGRAPHIES

By Stephen J. Ackerman

On the eve of the 1864 Democratic National Convention, the distinguished Constitutional scholar George Ticknor Curtis sent a confidential note to its expected nominee for the presidency, General George B. McClellan. "Hillard is making a beautiful book...worthy of you & of him," Curtis boasted, "a very different thing in every way from the catchpenny lives of public men which have disgraced our national literature from General Jackson's day to the present time."

Curtis's project was secret, of course, because before the nomination McClellan, like any 19th-century candidate, had to assume the awkward posture of not actively seeking the presidency; yet the Democratic convention had been delayed until the extraordinarily late date of 29 August. For an authoritative biography to be ready for a short campaign, Curtis had badgered the "reluctant" candidate for documents and family information months in advance. These he turned over to G.S. Hillard, popular author of *Six Months in Italy*, biographer of Captain John Smith, and editor of the Franklin readers. On the day before McClellan's nomination, publisher J.B. Lippincott personally sent Mrs. Ellen McClellan an advance copy of Hillard's *Life and Campaigns of George B. McClellan*.

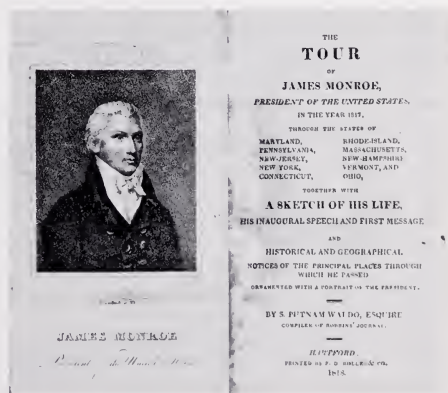
This was a well-written account reflecting McClellan's views and defending him from hostile criticism while he played a role of suffering silence. In appealing for a favorable review of his work, Hillard then wrote Manton Marble, astute editor of the Democratic *New York World*, "in writing the life of McClellan I have done my share towards his election; and allow me to add that if you could, from your position, aid in giving it circulation, you might do him a service, & might do me a pecuniary benefit." Marble obliged, declaring in the *World* that "there is as great a difference between the nature of this book and that of the ordinary run of political biographies as there is between the character of General McClellan and that of a brawling demagogue." *General McClellan and the Conduct of the War*, another biography by the eccentric, alcoholic *World* reporter William Henry Hurlburt, also received a favorable review, very likely written by himself.

Campaign biographies are a fascinating neglected field for collectors. Despite the sneers of Curtis, Marble, and numerous others, these "catchpenny lives...which have disgraced our national literature" are highly desirable treasure troves of election lore, in addition to being often attractive political artifacts in their own right.

The Bible for the collector is William Miles's *The Image*

*Makers: A bibliography of American presidential campaign biographies* (Metuchen, NJ and London, 1979), a scholarly descriptive catalogue of 1,281 titles (including variants) from 1796 to 1976. Even to pare his study down to that number, Miles had to exclude many political volumes not primarily biographical. It will surprise no experienced collector or bibliographer that some biographies eluded his painstaking research. Nonetheless, Miles's valuable work creates a structure for the study and collection of these books. The only other book on the subject, William Burlie Brown's entertaining *The People's Choice: The Presidential Image in the Campaign Biography* (Baton Rouge, 1960) surveys the enduring themes of these lives, but is by no means encyclopaedic.

Political collectors have been slow to take campaign lives to heart. Although a few pamphlet biographies with handsome covers could serve as great centerpieces in a Riker Mount, most don't lend themselves to compact display. They do, however, come in many forms, as pamphlets, press releases, even comic books. Many later 19th-century books have ornamented spines which make for an impressive-looking bookshelf. The graphics of the covers, frontispieces, and illustrations are often the equal of any button or bandanna. In short, as artifacts they are appealing. Moreover, they were--and are--significant parts of our election process. People naturally want to know the candidates they support, and they have always reached for accounts of their "Lives and Public Services"





### GEN. ANDREW JACKSON.

*It is the duty of all men who would maintain their rank in the scale of creation, strenuously to endeavor, that their lives be not passed in obscurity.*—SALLIST.

It is already obvious, that the claims of General Jackson on the office of President of the United States, must be reconsidered in the election of 1829. Hence, it is proper that he real character of this man should be known to the nation. The writer has no fault to find with the conformation of the head of this individual, or the height of his stature or the manner in which he moves, the writer has nothing to say. (If his health, it is declared, and the writer believes, truly, that it is at present sound, and indicates a protracted life.

General Jackson was born in March, 1767. He had reached that age in 1774, the era of our Independence, when events of interests make a deep impression upon the mind. Throughout his boyhood, every thing around him was calculated to make him brave, considerate, and an ardent friend to liberty. In South Carolina, his native state, the war of the revolution was waged with uncommon ferocity against the common enemy. At the same time, the Whigs armed themselves against their brethren at home who had coalesced with the British forces. A dreadful alternative! But it was adopted with a cool and determined courage. It was amidst the suffering, excitement, and anxiety which prevailed in the southern states from 1777, to 1782, that Jackson picked up whatever elementary knowledge he possesses, in the common schools, then existing, in which scholastic literature was but little attended to, and the course of instruction extremely limited.

General Jackson is not an accomplished rhetorician. But his time, during the Revolution, so long with great events, was not idleness. He was then receiving the elements of that education, which men of true genius only, know how to use for their own advantage and the glory of their country. The text book which this man studied in his youth, was the book of the Revolution. His exemplars and teachers were the brave men and sages, who fought and acted in the Revolution—who were either personally in his view, or whose actions were every day the themes of applause or censure among the crowds through which he moved. Through-

### ADDRESS

OF THE

### Central Committee

Appointed by a Convention of both branches of the Legislature friendly to the election of John Q. Adams as president and Richard Rush as vice-president of the U. States, held at the State-House in Boston, June 10, 1828, to their fellow-citizens.

The Central Committee of the friends of the Administration in Massachusetts, in the discharge of their duty, submit the following statements and considerations to their fellow citizens, throughout the Commonwealth. They have delayed this Address till the present late moment, from the wish to see the great national question at issue reduced to its narrowest form, and brought within such a compass, as that the public generally, and every elector, may perceive what is the probable event, and what are the turning points of the election. Believing that their fellow citizens look to this Commonwealth for an accurate statement of the present situation of the campaign, we shall proceed to lay it before them, according to the latest and most authentic information.

(as our forebears put it) to flesh out often hazy images. The biographical videos emerging already from the 1988 campaigns thus are the direct descendants of the 32-page pamphlet of 1796, *A Brief Consideration of the Important Services, Distinguished Virtues and Talents, Which Recommend Mr. Adams for the Presidency...*

The "Lives and Services" are odd propaganda, mostly written for and sold to voters already committed to their candidates. To say that they are flattering is to put it mildly. If you want to know the actual facts of a politician's life, of course, a campaign biography is a perilous place to look; but if you want to know how that candidate was perceived during a campaign--and isn't this what political Americana is all about?--you can find no better source. The old "catchpenny lives" capture the way things looked then, what issues were important, what now-forgotten personalities were dominant. They help us escape for the moment the perspective of history to try to understand things from the voter's-eye view.

That view was often distorted. Some inaccuracies are inevitable when books are ground out under tight deadlines to circulate during short campaigns. Thus we read that James A. Garfield's wife hailed from a farm on the Shenandoah River...in *Maryland* (!), a state of which a James Monroe admiral assures us Baltimore is the capital. Other "white lies" stem more or less from optimistic interpretations of the facts, as when an 1860 Lincoln biographer claims that distaste for slavery was what

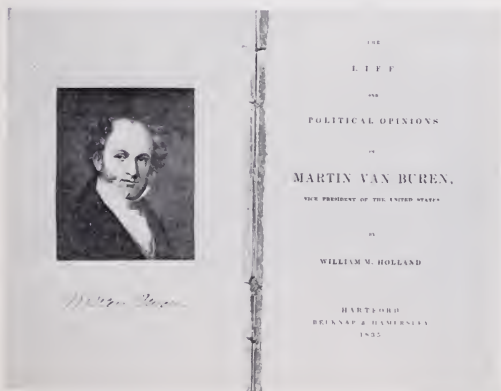
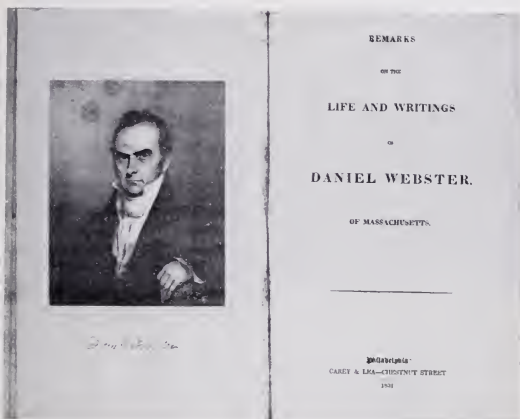
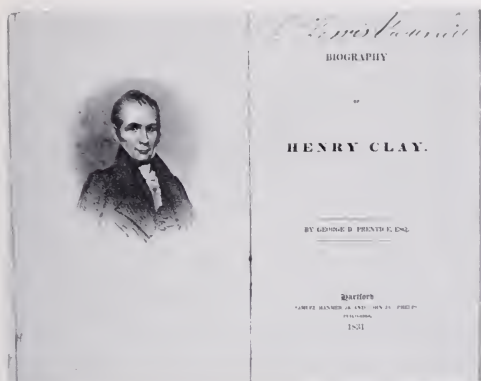
motivated his father's move from Kentucky. Franklin Pierce's resignation from the Senate is attributed to his wife's nerves rather than to a drinking problem. As a Member of Congress in 1848, Lincoln himself ridiculed attempts of revisionist campaign biographers to burnish the military luster of Gen. Lewis Cass.

The effect to cast the candidate in an attractive mold can be ludicrous. So pervasive was the "Log Cabin to White House" motif by 1876 that one Rutherford Hayes biographer who grudgingly admitted that the candidate had been born in a brick house felt compelled to note that it did have a log *addition* on it.

The illustrations of these books can be most interesting, but they sometimes contribute to disinformation. While H.J. Ramsdell's 1884 biography pictures James G. Blaine comforting the assassinated President Garfield, Russell H. Conwell's effort shows Blaine heroically seizing the assassin--although it does not claim in the text that he did so.

Noted authors have sometimes lent their pens to campaign lives, but rarely with happy results. Nathaniel Hawthorne's discomfort in writing the 1852 life of his schoolmate Franklin Pierce clearly shows in the final product. William Dean Howells wrote a life for Lincoln in 1860, and General Lew Wallace, author of *Ben-Hur*, ostentatiously did the same for Benjamin Harrison in 1888. John Steinbeck compiled Adlai Stevenson's speeches in 1952. In no case do these authors show to best advantage





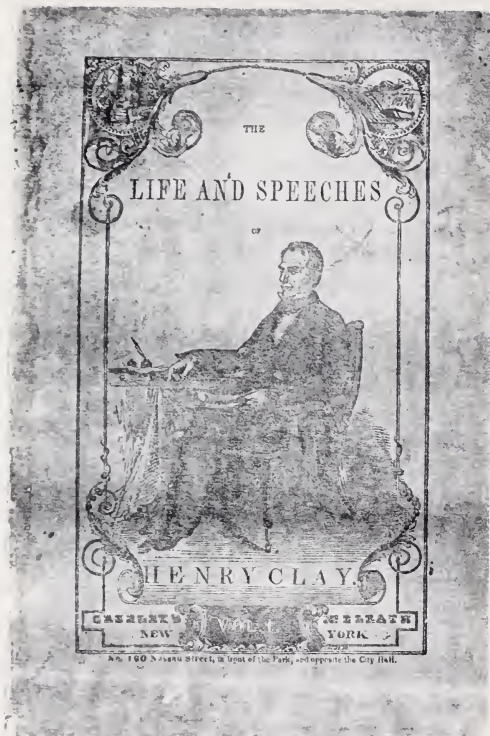
in their political efforts. Most campaign lives, and usually the best, have been cranked out by sympathetic reporters.

"Statesmen never 'boom,' but it is only fair and rational, in a critical moment, to encourage the hesitating tendencies of public opinion by giving it something to crystallize upon," wrote Baltimore *Sun* reporter Edward Spenser to Delaware Senator Thomas Bayard, seeking authorization to pen a biography to boost his quest for the 1884 Democratic nomination. Bayard cooperated, but the book appeared too late to improve his chances. In 1860, Douglas supporters stocked their Hibernia Hall headquarters with a large supply of James W. Sheahan's *Life of the candidate*--and an even larger supply of whiskey--in an effort to sway the disastrous Charleston convention to their man. More commonly, until recent years, even such quasi-official campaign lives were withheld pending nomination, which would guarantee their authors a large sale. President Chester Arthur had recruited veteran reporter Ben Perley Poore to hack out such a volume, but he cancelled the order when the 1884 GOP nomination eluded him.

By that year, a "life" was a political necessity. It had become as much of a game as the "meaningless" straw votes into which 1988 Republican candidates (the Democrats have discouraged them) pour large investments of campaign resources. Little-known Grover Cleveland, in need of introduction to many voters, inspired over two dozen lives, while the well-known James G. Blaine provoked two score! Had these books really corresponded to the demand for information, the proportions surely would have been reversed.

Misrepresenting the political motives of these books has been part of the game. Prohibition candidate Clinton B. Fisk's 1888 historian claims to have been preparing a biography of that gentleman anyway when he happened to be nominated for president, then contradicts his apolitical stance by appending a sketch of running-mate John A. Brooks. Hurlburt claimed he was not writing a full biography of McClellan, then proceeded to do just that. Henry J. Raymond's defensive *History of the Administration of President Lincoln* (1864) contradicts its very title in the first sentence of the preface, stating, "This book does not profess to be, in any exact and important sense, a History of the Administration of President Lincoln." Raymond's claims of dispassionate objectivity are less convincing when we consider a fact he fails to mention: that he was Chairman of the Republican National Committee. On the other hand, *Complete Lives of Cleveland and Hendricks* (not listed in Miles) has only the sketchiest information about those candidates, although it is padded with irrelevancies like "Andrew Jackson on the Tariff" and a collection of anecdotes about Lincoln. "You can't tell a book by its cover," or even by its preface, when you're dealing with campaign biographies.

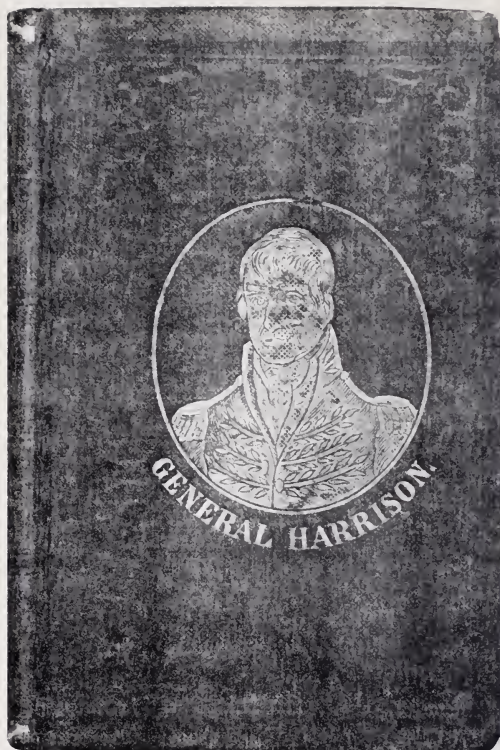
Authorial inventiveness also shows up in the inevitable



effort to fill in details of a candidate's usually undocumented youth. The scene of the infant Garfield at his father's deathbed must be wholly made up; whether his favorite reading as a youth was or was not *The Boy's Book of Pirates* is another matter. One of Cleveland's lives includes a conjectural picture of school-aged Grover as a fat little boy on a bench, poring over a newspaper. As a boy the distinguished John W. Davis, we are told, was known as "Stretch."

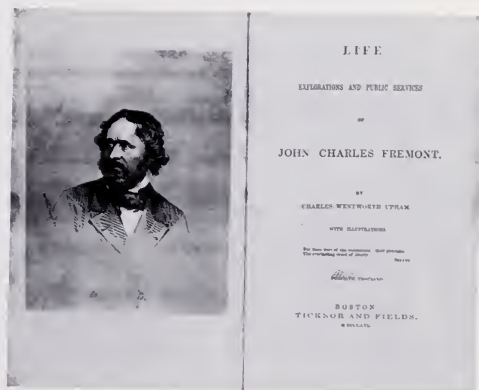
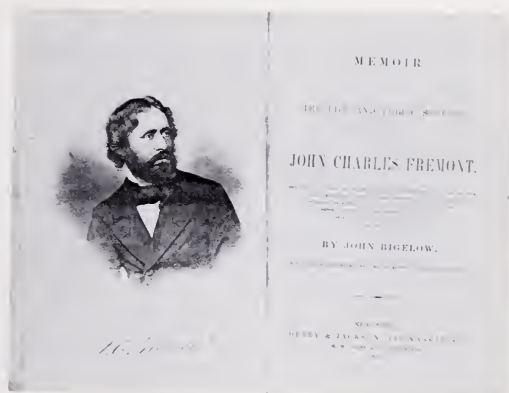
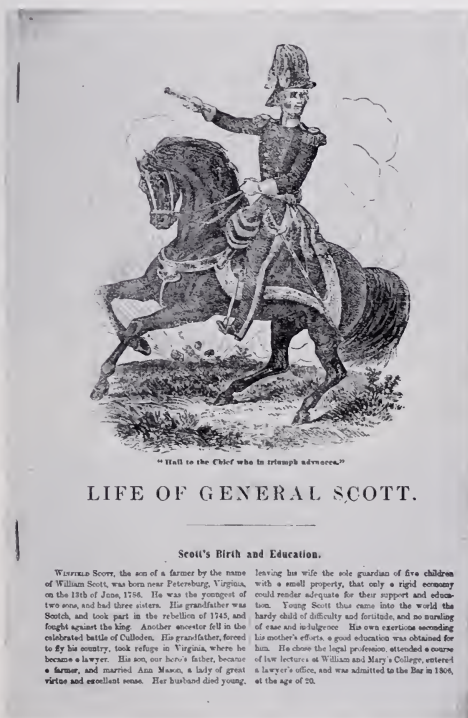
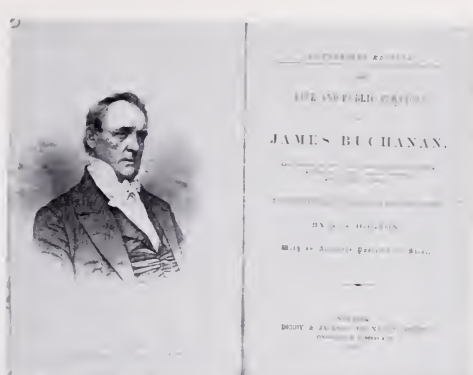
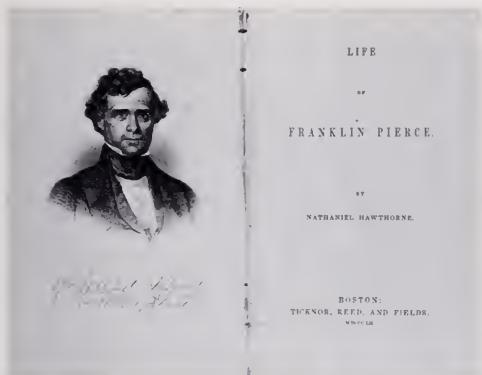
Perhaps the oddest extreme in this genre is John T. Trowbridge's *The Ferry Boy and the Financier*, an anonymous, fictionalized biography for boys of Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase. An appendix containing summaries of Chase's legal cases and political career, clearly aimed at adults, reveals that the book was part of Chase's effort to take the 1864 Republican nomination from President Lincoln.

Not all such information is conjectural or trivial. Certainly, these books help explain the contemporary appeal of candidates who, in retrospect, look hopeless; how *did* so many Americans come to vote for McClellan over Lincoln? Our friend Hillard explains. Biographies also recapture the lost political atmosphere. Already, the hasty Gerry Ferraro books of 1984 remind us of the excitement her nomination sparked.

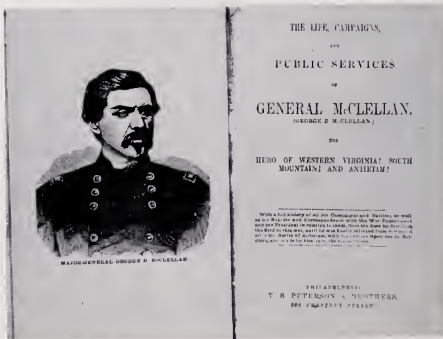
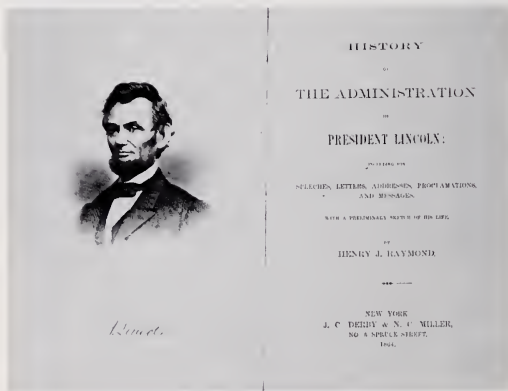
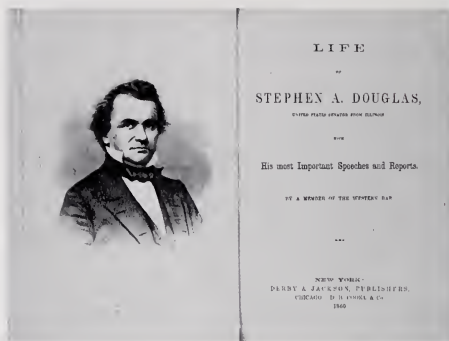


In practical terms, collectors will find in these books the answers to many puzzles. For instance, the reverse of an 1856 Fremont piece (Sullivan number JF 1856-2) depicts "The Pathfinder" surveying in the mountains, but with the U.S. Capitol located somewhat ridiculously at the top. The apparently whimsical touch makes sense, however, when we consult Upham's *Life, Explorations, and Public Services of John Charles Fremont*—an account which borrows freely from the candidate's journals of exploration—to find that the figure alludes to Fremont's description of South Pass, in Wyoming, where, "I should compare the elevation which we surmounted...to the ascent of the Capitol hill from the avenue in Washington" (p. 66). The biographies hold the keys to lots of other puzzles of this sort.

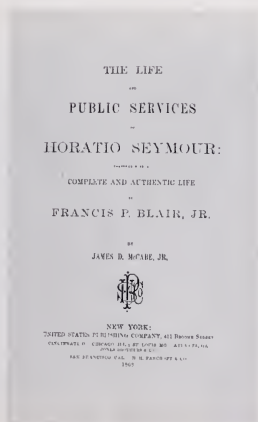
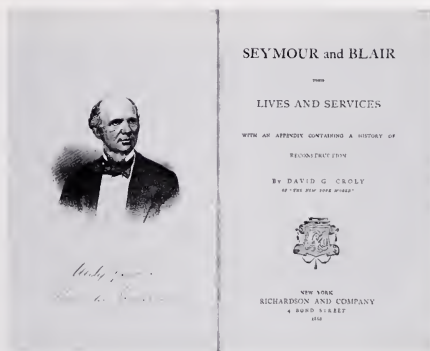
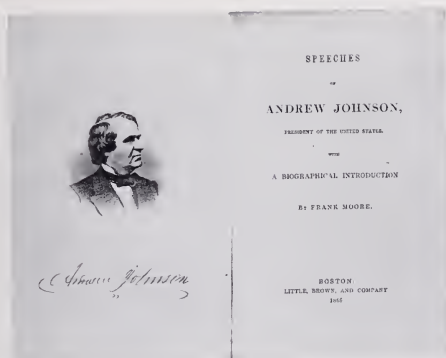
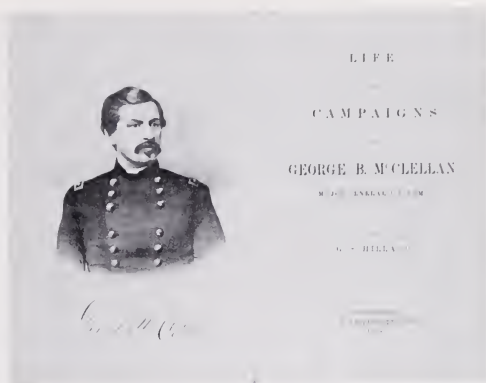
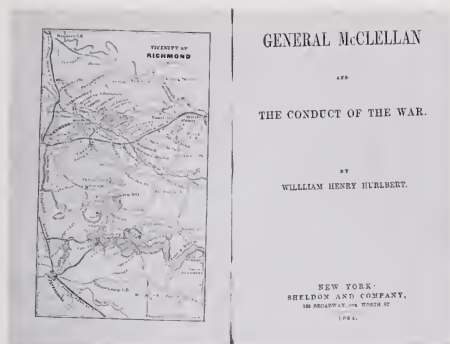
The pressures on the publishers have left amusing evidence in campaign books down through the years. David Croly dashed out his 1868 life of Horatio Seymour in just a week. The frontispiece of a hasty 1896 McKinley book is a distressing sketch of running-mate Garrett A. Hobart as a teenager, used perhaps because no recent photo was available at press time. To swell the size (and the price!) of these quick-sellers, publishers crammed them with whatever fillers came to hand. Sketches of the lives of all previous U.S. presidents were ideal for this

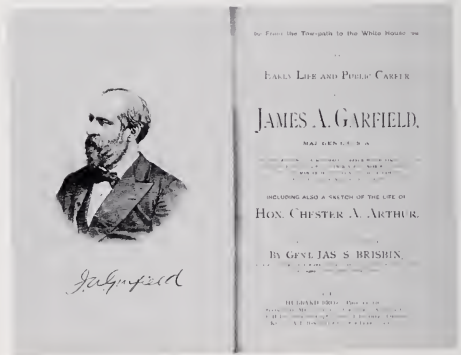
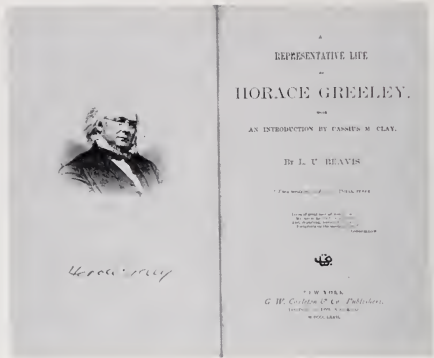
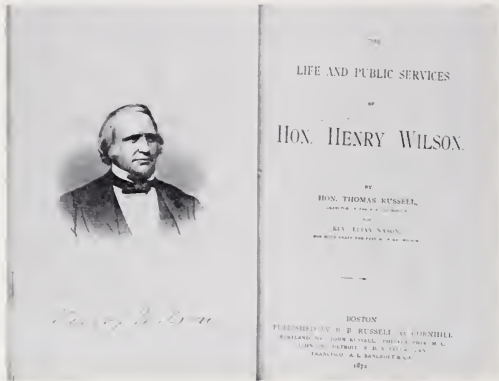




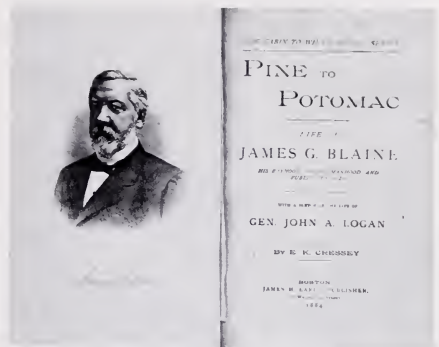
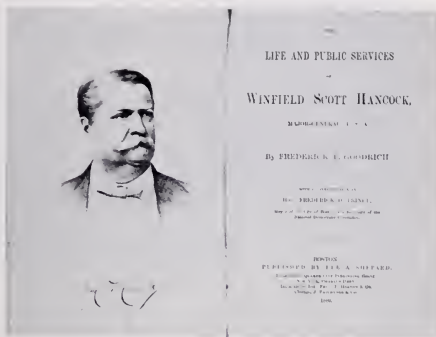




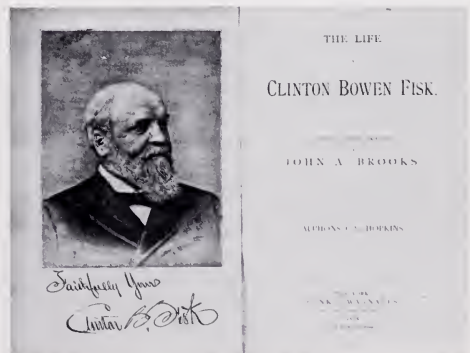
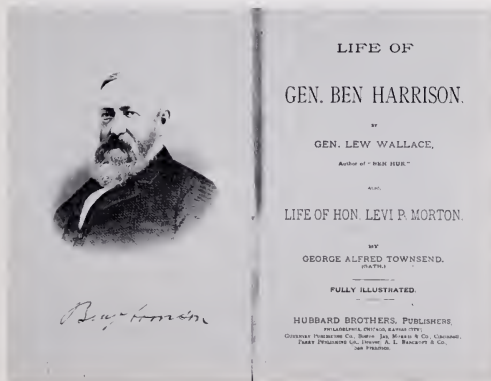




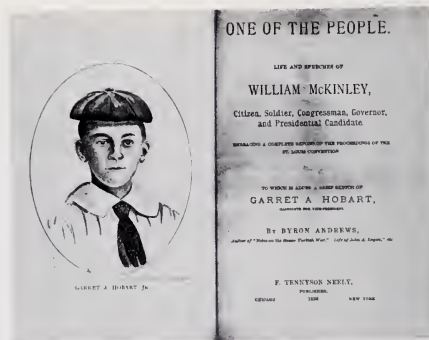
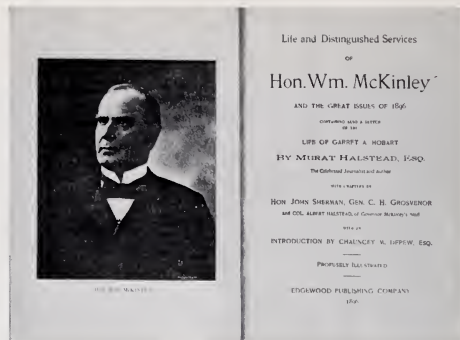
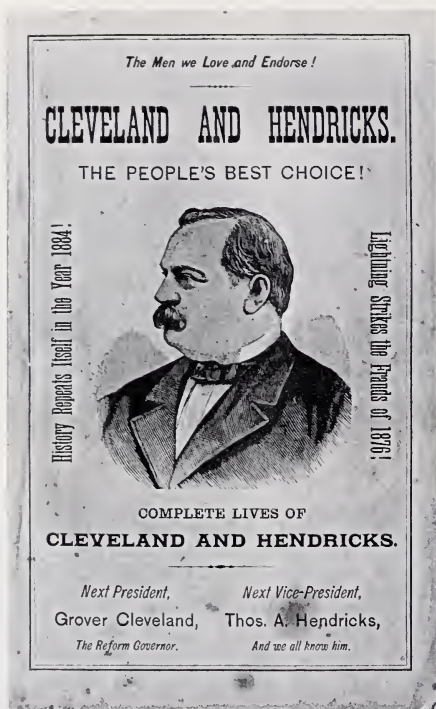
Two Romanticized Views of Garfield's Youth



Two Versions of Blaine's Conduct at Garfield's Assassination





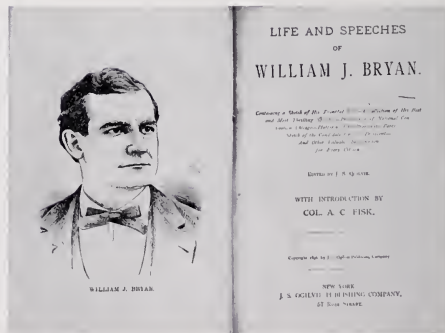


purpose; the same needless woodcuts of the Capitol and the White House appear with deadly regularity from the 1860s to the 1890s. Even the Constitution and the Northwest Ordinance of 1798 were occasionally drummed into service. Having commissioned a biography of the early 1884 frontrunner, Goodspeed publishers of Boston made good its erring investment by adding lives of the actual nominees and a beautiful binding to produce *The Lives of Tilden, Cleveland, and Hendricks* for loyal Democrats.

For candidates with long public records, speeches served for padding as well as for information. The compiler of lives of professional politicians like Buchanan, Douglas, and Lincoln could draw on many pages of oratory in an age which savored it. That hard-drinking gambler, Henry Clay, was fortunate to run at a time when the emphasis was on public acts rather than probing analysis of private character: "Measures, not Men," as the Whig slogan ran.

After the Civil War, solidifying Victorianism led to gross idealization of candidates. All were pious Christian gentlemen who lived for the public good. Domestic virtues were celebrated, but not in unbecoming detail. Candidates were all incredibly learned. Still, the emphasis remained, primarily, upon their public record.

With the turn of the century, the "Lives and Public



Services" approach gradually gave way to more pointed concentration on personality, creating a different kind of cliché. We find *The Man Roosevelt* (1904), *Bryan the Man* (1908), *Warren G. Harding the Man* (1920), *McAdoo the Man and his Times* (1924), and *This Man Hoover* (1928). There are many more in this impressionistic vein.

A tendency toward candor grew slowly after World War I. A refreshing example is Hapgood and Moskowitz's 1928 Al Smith biography, *Up from City Streets*, which presents his wheeling and dealing with the New York legislature as a normal and desirable means of achieving political goals. Despite such increasing sophistication, delicacy endured. The treatments of Adlai Stevenson's divorce in his 1952 lives are marvels of reticence. On the opposite extreme, of course, is the negative or satirical biography, which has been with us from the first. *A Texan Looks at Lyndon* (1964) breathes the same venom as *The Claims of Martin Van Buren to the Presidency Fairly Represented* (1840) or the anti-Lincoln *Abraham Africanus I* (1864). The malice of the past can make amusing reading today; often the attacking authors reveal more ill about themselves than about their victims.

These books offer particular advantages in the case of the really "tough" elections poorly represented by other pieces. Biographies of Jackson (1824), Clay (1832), and Van Buren (1836) can flesh out some sparse years. A collection of speeches with biographical note (1831) is as

fine a souvenir as you can get of Daniel Webster's perennial White House ambitions. A James Monroe book with a handsome frontispiece called *The President's Tour* (1818) is a fine political souvenir of the "Era of Good Feelings" whose beginnings it describes. Perhaps there are more treasures from these early days than Miles has catalogued.

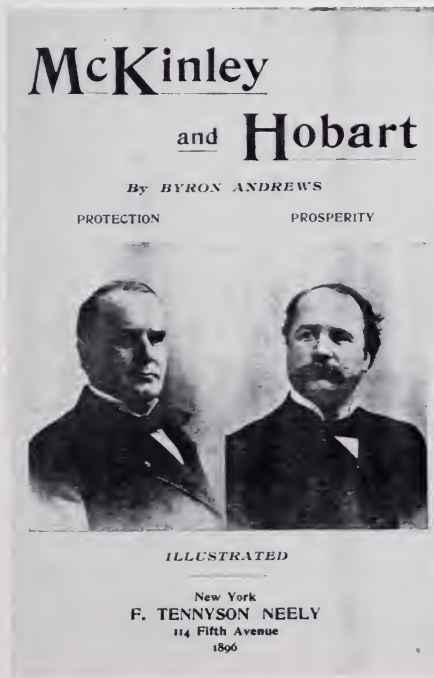
Another advantage is that one can find political books outside of regular collector channels. Although such specialist stores as those catering to Civil War collectors tend to charge high prices, even for 1880 campaign lives of Garfield or Hancock, they sometimes come up with rare volumes. General used or antiquarian bookstores, on the other hand, often supply campaign books reasonably, though it requires some looking. A 1924 Davis biography recently turned up not under biography or politics, but on the regional shelves, classified under "West Virginia."

Campaign lives are sometimes cheap in old books shops. Nice Blaine or Cleveland biographies often turn up at around \$5. Perhaps because he is well known, U.S. Grant tends to cost a good deal more, despite being common; Miles lists 37 biographies for 1868 alone. Seymour can turn up at \$10-15, Lincoln at \$20-25. Considering the value of their other campaign pieces, the biographies of these candidates seem like bargains. Of course, because the values of these books have not become established in the bibliographic world, one sometimes meets much higher bookstore prices. Obviously, books by authors like Hawthorne, who are sought by bibliophiles in their own right, are more costly.

Tom Huston, an advanced biography collector from Indianapolis who allowed Miles the use of his library in compiling the bibliography, reports different experiences. Book dealers in his area price campaign lives so high that he gets the best prices from other political collectors. It seems that regional variations in the costs of these volumes are significant. Naturally, the elusive volumes from the earliest years are most likely to turn up in the East; apparently, they are also cheaper there.

Further research is needed to sort out the truly authorized lives from the others, not because they are better, but because they show us the "official" portraits of the candidates as they wished to be seen. Hawthorne's Pierce, Sheehan's Douglas, Raymond's Lincoln, and Hillard's McClellan fall in this category, although other books from the same campaigns enjoyed some degree of official blessing. As the recent flap over revisions in Pat Robertson's autobiography suggest, deciding what is official and what isn't may not be an easy task, even if the candidates write the books themselves.

Gaudy, inaccurate, padded and hastily written though they be, campaign biographies are great fun for students of American history to read, and they can add new dimensions to any political collection. The 1988 crop already is trickling onto the shelves, indeed onto the video screens. For political collectors, they have a double value. They are fine artifacts of our campaigns, and they supply the background we need to understand the rest of the memorabilia we treasure. ©Stephen J. Ackerman 1988★



# THE SAFETY CRUSADE

## AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1912

By Robert Rouse

The French novelist Victor Hugo once noted, "There is nothing so powerful as an idea whose time has come." The fact that the Taft, Wilson, Roosevelt and many local campaigns issued "safety" buttons in 1912, (the local items shown picture Carter Harrison, who won his fifth term as Mayor of Chicago in 1911) reminds us that the idea of industrial and public safety was at the forefront of public consciousness at this time.

In the years between the Civil War and World War I, the United States experienced a revolution in industrial production. Horsepower created by steam and electricity replaced and augmented human and animal muscle to make radical changes in the way men worked. The ultimate effect of this revolution was to substantially raise the standard of living for working people and to increase their leisure. However, in the early stages, it often seemed that man's new servants of iron and steel were more a curse than a blessing. Death and injury were commonplace on the railroads, in the mines and mills, and throughout the nation's factories. Steel mills were called "slaughterhouses" and as railroads moved westward, it was assumed one man would be killed for every mile of track a company laid. In addition, from 1902 to 1908 inclusive, the Interstate Commerce Commission reported 14,888 trainmen were killed and 218,082 were injured in accidents while operating trains. Similar startling reports came from Panama, where 4,766 workers died while building the canal between 1903 and 1914.

While this change in work environment was taking place, the thinking of the public, management, and the law still reflected the past, when workers were independent craftsmen or members of a family-owned shop. In large industrial centers, the ugly results of industrial accidents and poor occupational health conditions became more and more obvious. To most men--workers and managers alike--accidents and industrial carnage were accepted as just another element of work.

Nevertheless, isolated voices of protest were raised. As early as 1867, Massachusetts had begun to use factory inspectors, and ten years later the state had one law requiring the safeguarding of hazardous machinery and another, The Employers Liability Law, which made employers liable for damages when workers were injured. However, court decisions based on common law often allowed employers to escape liability. From 1898 on, there were additional efforts to make employers financially liable for accidents. By 1911, the first effective workers' compensation acts were passed in New Jersey and Wisconsin. Similar laws were soon passed in many other states.

These laws were initially declared invalid because of conflict with due process provisions of the 14th Amendment. However, in 1916 the Supreme Court declared them to be constitutional, and many more states passed compulsory workman's compensation laws. As insurance companies began to relate the cost of premiums for workers' compensation insurance to the cost of accidents, management began to understand that there was a relationship between successful production and safety.

In the first decade of the new century, two great industries, railroads and steel, began the first large-scale organized safety programs. In 1906, Judge Elbert Gary, who organized the nation's first billion dollar corporation, United States Steel, wrote: "The United States Steel Corporation expects its subsidiary companies to make every effort practicable to prevent injury to its employees. Expenditures necessary for such purposes will be authorized. Nothing which will add to the protection of the workmen should be neglected." Soon after this announcement, the Association of Iron and Steel Electrical Engineers was organized to solve the safety problems in the industry.

Little is known of the exact number and circumstances of work accidents in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most communities did not even bother to count them. A 1912 issue of the American Statistical Association's journal noted only twenty-one states collected figures on industrial accidents. Of these, only nine were asking how the accident occurred. Accident reporting was hit-and-miss; there were no set standards to define an occupational injury. Yet, it is possible to get an over-all picture of the accident situation from statistics gathered by some companies, industrial insurance carriers, state industrial commissions, and from reports such as the \$45 page study, *WORK ACCIDENTS AND THE LAW* published by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1910. This detailed study of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County reported the number, nature, and consequences of the accidents which occurred from July 1, 1906 to June 30, 1907 a year when industrial activity was vigorous. One poignant passage from the report illustrates the scope of the problem: "526 men were killed by work accidents in Allegheny County. In April, May, and June, the hospitals of the county received over 509 injured men--76 of them were permanently disabled...estimating the hospital cases for a year on the same basis, the Pittsburgh District would annually send out from its mills, railroad yards, factories and mines, 45 one-legged men; 100 hopeless cripples walking with crutch or cane for the rest of their lives; 45 men with a twisted, useless arm; 30 men with an empty





sleeve; 20 men with but one hand; 60 with half a hand gone; 70 one-eyed men--500 such wrecks in all."

In addition to the Sage report several other events early in this century aroused widespread public concern. In 1903 the "absolutely fireproof" Iroquois Theater in Chicago burned barely six weeks after it opened killing 575 people. Seven months later the *General Slocum* burned and sank in New York's East River; 1021 people who were out on a pleasure cruise perished. Mine explosions in Pennsylvania and West Virginia claimed hundreds of lives. Ida Tarbell, Upton Sinclair and other "muckrakers" awakened the public to the need for reform in national magazines and novels. Teddy Roosevelt shocked the nation when he compared the number of industrial deaths with the number of war deaths.

The coup de grace occurred in 1911 when the Triangle Shirtwaist fire in New York killed 145 people--mostly young women. In the aftermath grim pictures of girls hanging from the ledges of the burning building while others, their dresses on fire, leaped from the windows were widely published in the tabloids of the day along with the shocking results of an investigation which revealed gross negligence--an exit door was locked, the firehose was rotted, the water supply valve did not work and no fire drills had ever been held.

And, of course, On April 15, 1912, the Titanic, the largest ship afloat and "the safest ship ever built" sank on its maiden voyage killing 1513 people including some of the elite in American and British business and social circles.

Thus the time was ripe for an organization that would bring safety activists in industry and government into a great national force to reduce job-related injuries and deaths. The Association of Iron and Steel Electrical Engineers sponsored the First Cooperative Safety Congress in Milwaukee in September, 1912. Dr. Lucian

W. Chaney of the United States Department of Commerce called the meeting an example of "applied Christianity" in his opening remarks. Speakers compared leaders of the fledgling safety movement to Moses--figures who would lead the nation out of the bondage of industrial and public peril. Though the tone of the meeting was evangelistic, the substance was down-to-earth accident prevention. The delegates concluded with a resolution to "create a permanent body devoted to the promotion of safety to human life in the industries of the United States."

Woodrow Wilson echoed this theme in his 1913 inaugural address: "We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaken and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through."

Seven months later, on October 13, 1913, the National Council for Industrial Safety opened in a cramped three-room office in Chicago. With prophetic insight, but journalistic overemphasis unjustified by the Council's modest beginning, a page one story in the *Chicago Tribune* began: "One of the most important offices in the world was quietly opened this week on an upper floor of the Continental and Commercial National Bank Building." A year later the organization was renamed The National Safety Council and its program was broadened to include all aspects of accident prevention.

The safety activists turned back the tide of death and injury. They installed guards, introduced safety glasses, steel toe shoes, fireproof gloves and other protective equipment, organized first aid, developed employee attitudes, and began off-the-job safety programs. It has been estimated that, as a result, more than one million industrial deaths may have been averted in the United States during the past 75 years.★



Unusual Teddy Roosevelt Button With Penny In Back



# NEWS

## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Society has grown accustomed to looking forward to the promise of each new year. While the APIC can look forward to the promise of 1988, its membership should look back on 1987 as a landmark year in the history of our organization. The year was marked by an increase in member services, improved communications within the hobby, and a number of other significant accomplishments.

President Norman Loewenstein began the year by reaching an agreement with the publishers of "The Political Bandwagon" that resulted in each APIC member receiving a subscription to the monthly newspaper as part of their APIC membership. The "APIC Newsletter" that was included in every issue opened new lines of communication within our hobby.

The APIC experienced its first contested elections for president, vice president and the board of directors. The election was followed by our biennial convention in Louisville. This convention was our largest and most successful, to date, and was highlighted by the Chick Harris auction of political memorabilia on board the Belle of Louisville riverboat. The Louisville convention will long be remembered by our membership, particularly the members of our Executive Board. Two board meetings extended into the early morning hours. These meetings led to the development of a table rental agreement that will be required at all meetings sponsored by the APIC. The rental agreement requires table holders to remove any item deemed in violation of our code of ethics, at the request of the senior APIC officer in attendance. Failure to comply will result in expulsion from the meeting and a refund of table rental fees. The board also called for a revision of the by-laws and code of ethics to be completed in 1988.

Such decisive action continued throughout the year and featured an unprecedented amount of activity by our Executive Board, including a vote to change the 1988 APIC membership renewal form. Each member will now be required to sign an agreement to comply with the APIC code of ethics. This agreement has always been implied by membership in our organization; making it a part of the

renewal form simply strengthens the legal position of our organization.

Collector services were expanded in 1987 by the formation of the APIC book club and the collecting supply service. Members are now able to obtain reference materials and collecting supplies at a substantial savings.

I would be remiss in my duties if I didn't close out 1987 by saying thank you to the collectors that have assisted me in the early part of my administration. First, there is Bob Fratkin. It is impossible to say thank you often enough for all the things that he does for the APIC. Newsletter editor Harvey Goldberg and Secretary/Treasurer Joe Hayes have been super. I can always depend on them to do a prompt high quality job. Keith Glatz has done a great job, negotiating discount prices on collecting supplies and making a catalog of these supplies available to our members. Jim Kotche has admirably developed our book club, which is destined to become a collector favorite. A special thanks goes to the Executive Board and our Chicago Chapter for providing the initial funding for the club. Marc Sigoloff, Bob Atwater, Lu Ann Paletta and Ron Moody deserve recognition for their hard work on projects that will be completed in 1988. Let's not forget that Chris Olmstead, Carter Todd and Joe Jacobs have provided valuable legal expertise, including the new membership renewal agreement authored by Chris. Last, but certainly not least, I must thank our PACK Chapter for the outstanding convention they hosted, and the substantial donation that they made to the APIC from the profits generated.

With the renewed enthusiasm exhibited by our membership, we will maintain our current direction. And next year we will once again be able to reflect on the successes of the past, and the promise of the future.

*Geary Vlk*  
Geary Vlk  
President

ORIGINAL SOURCES

# T.R. and the Quakers

---

WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 10, 1904

My dear Sir:

Your letter pleased me very much. I enclose you a letter written four years ago, from which you will see that the statement that I attacked the Quakers as a class is absurd and untrue. Nothing is better known than the fact that the tens of thousands of Quakers and sons of Quakers who went into the army in 1861 to take part in the great war for righteousness, for union, and for liberty, made soldiers than whom, even in that brilliant army, there were none better. These men have exactly my creed in such matters. They abhor brawling; they abhor fighting in any unrighteous cause. They will never in any way condone iniquity, especially when it seeks to accomplish its design by a strong hand; and yet they are ready to make any sacrifice for, and in every way to support, the cause of freedom and of eternal right, when once it is evident to them that there is such demand for their services.

Without any reference to my own personality, I feel that the party that I represent has an absolute right to ask the support at this time of every sincere Friend in the country; for no sincere Friend can condone the wrong and the folly at home and abroad for which our antagonists stand. Here at home we have proved by deed, not by word only — by what we have done throughout the last seven years we have been in power — that we stand for justice toward the humble, the lowly, and the weak, just as we stand for justice toward the strong. We try to help every man who is in his turn striving to be just and do justice to others. North and south, east and west, whatever a man's creed or his color, whether he is a wage-worker or an employer, a poor man or a man of means, wherever he was born, or whatever his occupation, we have striven to act toward him, and to encourage him to act toward others, in a spirit of broad charity and honest endeavor.

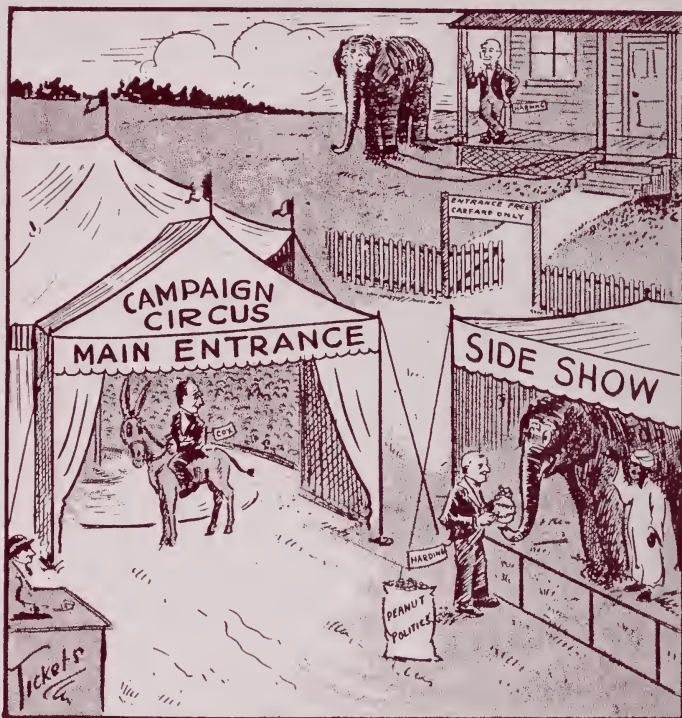
Thanking you for writing, I am,

Sincerely yours,

*Theodore Roosevelt*



# "CAMPAIGN CIRCUS"



*Words & Cartoon*  
by **A. J. KISER**

*Music by*  
**EDOUARD HESSELBERG**

*Published by*  
**A. J. Kiser, Colorado Springs, Colo.**

